

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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O P 191632Z DEC 75
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S E C R E T NICOSIA 3514

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU, GR, UN
SUBJ: RESUMPTION OF CYPRUS NEGOTIATION: DISCUSSIONS WITH SYG SPECIAL
REPRESENTATIVE AND FONMIN CHRISTOPHIDES

REF: USUN 6812

1. SYG SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE PEREZ DECUELLAR AND I SHARED
SAME FLIGHTS RETURNING FROM LONDON TO CYPRUS DEC 17. THIS
PERMITTED SEVERAL HOURS OF CONVERSATION ON CYPRUS SITUATION
AND IDEAS FOR RESUMPTION OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS. (BASED ON
LONDON CONVERSATIONS WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMEAN AND
AMBASSADORS KUBISCH AND MACOMBER) I TOLD PEREZ DE CUELLAR
THAT A CENTRAL CONCERN OF MY GOVERNMENT NOW THAT BRUSSELS
AND SC DEBATE WERE BEHIND US WAS TO PREVENT UNRAVELLING
BETWEEN NOW AND SUCH TIME IN JANUARY AS SYG COULD RECONVENE
PARTICIPANTS. IT WAS OUR HOPE THAT SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE
MOMENTUM BY PROMPT CONSULTATIONS WITH PARTIES ON THE ISLAND,
MAKARIOS, CLERIDES AND DENKTASH, AND, AS APPROPRIATE,
WITH GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE AND TURKEY. PEREZ DE CUELLAR
REPLIED THAT THIS ACCORDED WITH HIS PERSONAL INSTRUCTIONS
FROM SYG. SYG'S ONLY STIPULATION HAD BEEN THAT HE
CHECK BACK AFTER COMPLETION OF ON-ISLAND CONVERSATIONS

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BEFORE COMMITTING HIMSELF TO ATHENS AND ANKARA VISITS.

PEREZ DE CUELLAR HAD TROUBLE, HOWEVER, WITH AIMING FOR A FULL-SCALE RESUMPTION AS EARLY AS JANUARY 7. HE WANTED TO MAKE SURE GROUND WAS THOROUGHLY PREPARED AND, GIVEN INTERVENING HOLIDAYS, DID NOT FEEL THIS COULD BE SUCCESSFULLY ACCOMPLISHED MUCH BEFORE THE END OF THE SECOND WEEK IN JANUARY.

2. WE DISCUSSED PROBLEMS INHERENT IN GREEKS STARTING OFF WITH A PERCENTAGE DEMAND ON TERRITORY THAT WOULD BE LIKELY STALEMMATE DISCUSSION AT AN EARLY STAGE. I SAID I THOUGHT GREEKS WOULD BE BETTER ADVISED, EXPECIALLY FOR REASONS OF GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEE POLITICS, TO TRY A ROLLING APPROACH, I.E. TO OPEN NEGOTIATION ON TERROTORIES WHICH WOULD POSE THE FEWEST PROBLEMS FOR TURKS, RESERVING THEIR PSOITION ON ULTIMATE REQUIREMENTS TO SEE NOW DISCUSSION PROGRESSED. THIS WOULD HELP MAKARIOS TO CARRY HIS POPULATION WITH HIM AND PERMIT AN EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO ACCUSTOM TENS OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES WHO WOULD CERTAINLY NEVER RETURN TO HARD FACTS OF LIFE BUT MADE MORE PALPABLE BY THE PROSPECT OF COMPESNATION.

3. REGARDING VENUE. PEREZ DE CUELLAR SAID HE STRONGLY FAVORED NEW YORK. THIS WOULD FACILITATE DESIRABLE INTERMITTENT INVOLVEMENT BY SYG WITH DAY-TO-DAY NEGOTIATION LEFT TO SPEIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND URQHUART. PEREX DE CUELLAR REALIZED THAT TURKS MIGHT RESIST THIS STITE BUT HOPED THEY COULD BE PERSUADED.

4. IN ATHENS, WE WERE MET BY UNDER SECRETARY STAVROPOLOUS AND DIRECTOR OF TURKISH/CYPRUS AFFAIRS VELISSAROPOULOS. STAVROPOULOS STRONGLY ENDORSED AN EARLY SHOW OF ACTIVITY BY SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. HE VOLUNTEERED THE SUGGESTION THAT SYG AIM AT FORMAL RESUMPTION "AT THE END OF FIRST FORTNIGHT IN JANUARY". IN AN ASIDE TO ME, STAVROPOULOS WAS CAUSTIC ABOUT MAKARIOS AND THE TROUBLE-MAKING POTENTIAL OF HIS NATIONAL COUNCIL. HE IMPLIED THAT GREECE WOULD NEED THE EXTRA WEEK IN JANUARY TO MAKE SURE THAT MAKARIOS WAS FIRMLY PINNED DOWN.

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5. FOLLOWING MY RETURN I CALLED ON GOC FONMIN CHRISTOPHIDES DEC 19 FOR A TOUR D'HORIZON INCLUDING OUTCOME OF SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE AND APPROACH TO RESUMED NEGOTIATION. FONMIN SAID GOC WAS NOT OVERLY BRUISED BY SC FAILURE TO GIVE FULL, SEPARATE ENDORSEMENT TO UN RES 3395. BUT HE SHOWED CONSIDERABLE ANNOYANCE THAT SYG, CONTRARY TO ASSUARANCES ALLEGEDLY CONVEYED THROUGH ACTING SPECIAL REPRESENTA-

TIVE GORGE, HAD GONE SO FAR AS TO AUGHORIZE UNFICYP
FORCE COMMANDER SIGN PROCES VERBALE WITH DENKTASH
(IT HAVING BEEN GOC'S UNDERSTANDING THAT DOCUMENT
WOULD BE EXCHANGED, NOT SIGNED).

6. ON RESUMPTION, CHRISTOPHIDES SIAD GOC COULD NOT
BE READY BEFORE APPROXIMATELY JAN 14. HE THOUGHT IS
WAS MORE IMPORTANT TO HAVE GROUND THOROUGHLY PERPARED
THAN TO GAIN A FEW DAYS FOR THE SAKE OF APPEARANCES.
ON VENUE, HE SAID GOC'S PREFERENCES, IN THAT ORDER,
WERE NEW YORK AND VIENNA. NEGOTIATION IN NICOSIA WOULD
MEAN NEGLIGIBLE PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT OF SYG AND
SUBJECT CLERIDES AND DENKTASH TO UNHELPFUL PRESSURES.

7. CHRISTOPHIDES DESCRIBED DEC 14-15 NICOSIA VISIT OF
GOG FONOFF TZOUNIS, PURPOSE OF WHICH HAD BEEN TO OBTIAN
MAKARIOS' CONCURRENCE IN PROCEDURES AGREED UPON BY
BITSIOS AND CAGLAYANGIL IN BRUSSELS. TZOUNIS HAD
REVIEWED AGREEMENT ON A THREE-TIER NEGOTIATION, I.E.
SYG/APECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WITH CLERIDES AND DENKTASH,
SUBCOMMITTEES WITH EVENTUAL PARTICIPATION OF MAINLAND
TECHNICAL EXPERTS, AND SEPARATE, SUPPORTIVE AND
FREQUENT MEETINGS BETWEEN BITIOS AND CAGLAYANGIL.
CHRISTOPHIDES SIAD MAKARIOS HAD APPROVED THIS BECAUSE
HE FELT IT TO BE THE RIGHT BALANCE. CHRISTOPHIDES
ADDED THAT TAOUNIS HAD ASSURED MAKARIOS THIS FORMULA
WAS ABSOLUTELY SECRET BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY AND
KNOWN TO NO OUTSIDE POWER. CHRISTOPHIDES ASKED POINT
BLANK IF THIS WERE TRUE OF U.S. I FUZZED BY REPLY,
SAYING WE HAD BEEN AWARE OF THE PROBABLE SHAPE
OF AGREEMENT BUT THAT U.S. PARTY HAD LEFT BRUSSELS
BEFORE THE BITSIOS-CAGLAYANGIL MEETING.

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